

# The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage  
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No. 2



"THE PEOPLE *vs.* WOMAN  
SUFFRAGE"

FALSE SUFFRAGE STATISTICS

THE "SUFFRAGE FIRST" PLEDGE

THEATRICALS AT WASHINGTON

TRAITORS TO DEMOCRACY

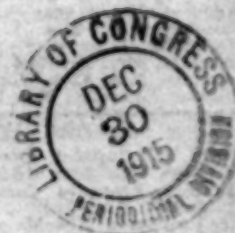
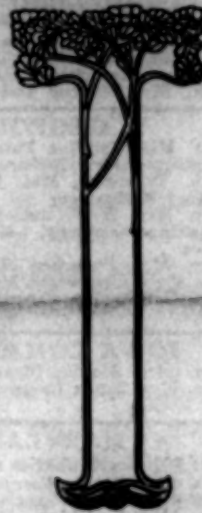
WHY A PROMINENT SUFFRAGIST  
BECAME AN ANTI

LESSONS IN POLITICAL PRINCIPLES

MORE EVIDENCE THAT SUFFRAGE  
IS GOING

THE NEW "UPLIFT" IN POLICS IT

DECEMBER  
1915



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The following majorities were registered against woman suffrage at the November election: New Jersey, 51,108; Massachusetts, 133,447; Pennsylvania, 55,686; New York, unknown.

BRIEFS IN THE CASE OF THE PEOPLE vs. WOMAN SUFFRAGE  
(From *The New York Sun*)

## WHY I FAVOR VOTES FOR WOMEN

By DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW,

*President of the National Association for Woman Suffrage*

**W**OMEN should vote because all just government must rest on the consent of the governed, and the state of affairs existing to-day in this country, when one-half the population has no voice in the Government, is entirely out of keeping with America's ideal of "a government of the people, for the people and by the people."

Women should vote because it is only just and fair that those who must pay taxes—and women in America pay in enormous sums for taxation—should have a vote as to the size of the tax and the way it should be spent.

Women should vote because this is the quietest, easiest and least conspicuous way of influencing public affairs by which women are affected as much as men. Compared with voting, indirect influence is not only unladylike but inexpedient. I never heard of a man trying to get a measure through the Legislature by hunting around for men who do not vote—because they are not naturalized or any other reason—and getting them to use their indirect influence.

Women should vote in all the States of the United States because this country as it exists to-day presents a strange anomaly. Women vote in twelve States, and yet if any one of these women gets up and crosses an imaginary line which separates her State from another State she loses her right of enfranchisement. Already 7,000,000 women can vote for the President of the United States. Is there any reason why they should have this right and other women of this country not have it?

Women should vote because the experiment has been tried in twelve States in the Union and found good. This is proved by the fact that no serious movement has ever been launched to disenfranchise the women of these twelve States; that repeated testimony has been given as to the value of equal suffrage and because the neighboring States have adopted it, which they would not have done if it had been a failure just across the border.

Women should vote because politics affects the home and the woman in the home. Pure food, sanitary living conditions, adequate fire protection, schools, playgrounds are all regulated by legislation. Should not the woman as guardian of the home have some voice in the making of such legislation?

Women should vote because sex is no logical qualification or disqualification for the right to a voice in the affairs of the community, the State or the nation.

**D**R. SHAW'S statement, "Already 7,000,000 women can vote for the President of the United States," is most remarkable. On page 118 of the abstract of the current census, we find the table giving the females of twenty-one years of age and over by States. The double suffrage states have the following number of females of twenty-one years of age and over:

Nevada .....	18,140
Wyoming .....	28,840
Arizona .....	43,891
Idaho .....	69,818
Montana .....	81,741
Utah .....	85,729
Oregon .....	168,323

## WHY I OPPOSE VOTES FOR WOMEN

By MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE,

*President National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage*

**B**ECAUSE suffrage is not a privilege to be enjoyed, but if imposed upon women it becomes a duty to be performed.

Because we believe the men of the State capable of conducting the government for the benefit of both men and women; their interests, generally speaking, being the same.

Because women are not suffering from any injustice which giving them the ballot would rectify.

Because political equality will eventually deprive woman of many special privileges hitherto accorded to her by man-made law.

Because the ballot in the hands of men has not proved a cure-all for existing evils, and there is no reason to believe it would be more effectual in the hands of women. It has not been in the States where it exists. In Colorado after a test of twenty-two years the results show no gain in public and political morals over male suffrage States.

Because equality in character does not imply similarity in function, and the duties and life of men and women should be different in the State, as in the home. Man's service to the State through government is counterbalanced by woman's service in the home.

Because women now stand outside of politics, and therefore are free to appeal to any party in matters of education, charity and reform. We believe it would be to the disadvantage of the State and of woman to put this non-partisan half of society into politics.

Because the woman suffrage movement is a backward step in the progress of civilization, in that it seeks to efface natural differentiation of function, and to produce identity instead of division of labor.

Colorado .....	213,425
Washington .....	277,727
Kansas .....	438,934
California .....	671,386
and	
Illinois (partial suffrage) .....	1,567,491

Total ..... 3,665,445

This includes all foreign born and unnaturalized females of twenty-one years of age and over, also 8,061 Chinese and Japanese women and 21,954 Indian women. Even if Dr. Shaw, by flight of fancy were to add to these the entire population of Alaska, 64,356, she could not find 7,000,000.

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Vol. VIII December, 1915 No. 2

The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

### SUFFRAGE FIRST

FOR several years official appeals have been sent out by suffrage organizations calling upon members to withdraw their activities and financial support from reform, social or philanthropic work.

The famous "will-and-won't" pledge was circulated four years ago by the Woman's Political Union of New York, Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch, President. A copy on file reads as follows:

I hereby promise that:

1.—I will give what I can and do my share of the work to gain Votes for Women.

2.—I will not give either money or services to any other cause until the women of New York State have been enfranchised.

Signature.....

Address.....

Date.....

Echoes from this pledge are heard in signed letters in our possession. Mrs. Blank, in resigning from the Public Education Association, wrote:

"Of course charity and educational work and the enlightenment of public opinion will always have to be carried on, but I cannot give to any other cause than suffrage until the Women of New York State have the vote."

A resignation from the Woman's Municipal League reads:

"It is my desire to withdraw from the Woman's Municipal League in order to devote my time more exclusively to suffrage work. Our municipal interests lead us so inevitably to direct political action that I do not feel we can do effective work until we acquire the ballot. I have found the Woman's Municipal League too conservative a body to hold my interest."

The National Suffrage Association adopted similar tactics in urging Suffragists to use this reply to all appeals for money:

"Until women are enfranchised, efforts to ameliorate social conditions can be at best but crippled. Therefore, I have decided to give such time and money as I can spare to those causes only that will bring about the political freedom of women."

The Association tells its members that this slip, "if used in large numbers will have a marked moral effect," and "will serve for propaganda."

Suffragists have indignantly reproached us for circulating a leaflet carrying the facts cited above and have declared that "only individuals" were adopting this policy; however, official endorsement of the policy was given at the annual convention of the New York State Woman Suffrage Association held in New York City on December 1st. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Chairman of the Empire State Campaign Committee, is generally quoted in the newspaper reports as saying:

"Put the bric-a-brac out of your lives," she said, "and set your minds to making history and wage such a fight for liberty that the whole world will respect the sex. Roll up your sleeves and get into action. There are hosts of women who must give their lives to the work. If they had done that before we would have won. Don't have a dawdling campaign. Be conspicuous! Let every one know what you are doing."

"Have a printed card to give to people who ask you to do any other work, saying that on account of the deferred enfranchisement of women you must refuse. Let the card say further: 'We are obliged to give ourselves and our money to the suffrage work. Won't you help us so that we can the sooner help you?' Let us take this little button (pointing to the one she was wearing) and make its slogan our own: 'Suffrage first.'"

Following the applause Mrs. Catt said: "I am glad you all believe in 'Suffrage first,' for with this room full of women we can move the world if we work."

This is one of the most radical pronouncements yet made by the "conservative" suffrage body. If the instructions of their President are carried out the Suffragists in New York State at this time of need and special relief work will abandon their opportunities for true service to the men and to anti-suffrage women.

Commenting on this suffrage announcement, the *New York Evening Sun* said editorially on December 1st:

"Speaking in the friendliest spirit to the women who want the vote, it is necessary to assure the New York State Suffrage Association that in deciding to refuse all aid to reform, social or philanthropic work until the ballot is won it has made a mistake. Such a selfish programme would be bound to react disastrously."

"By no better method than by continuing to expend their energies in those fields wherein they expect by their votes, when they get them, to exert great influence for the purifying of politics can the women demonstrate the necessity for giving them the vote. A strike of this sort will prove as futile as a marriage strike would be."



## THE FUTILE THEATRICALS AT WASHINGTON

THAT Congress will reject the suffrage amendment even more decisively than at the last session is the opinion of more than one observer.

The following quotations from an article signed by John Callan O'Laughlin (copyright by J. Keeley), appearing in the suffrage *Chicago Herald* show the hopelessness of the situation. These facts serve to aggravate that public opinion which believes the suffrage agitation, during the present world crisis, ill-timed and even unpatriotic.

(From the *Chicago Herald*, Nov. 26)

Washington, Nov. 25.—It will be love's labor lost for equal suffrage advocates to ask the incoming Congress to adopt their proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution.

As the result of the poll made on the matter, the *Chicago Herald* is able to announce that the amendment will fail of passage, and probably by a more decisive vote than it received in the last Congress.

In part, the attitude of the President is responsible for the position taken by many Democratic Congressmen. Of great importance is the rejection of amendments to their State constitutions by the voters of New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

Men representing these States in the National Congress who voted during the last term for an addition to the federal constitution now are declaring they must observe the decision of their constituencies, and until those constituencies go on record in favor of suffrage they cannot further the movement in Washington.

In order to ascertain the attitude of Congress, the *Chicago Herald* sent to every member of the Senate and House this question:

"Will you vote for the national equal suffrage amendment?"

Quite a large proportion of members of both houses deemed it wise to refrain from announcing in advance what they proposed to do. However, the poll shows the following results:

Senate—For the amendment, 38; against the amendment, 43; noncommittal, 15.

House—For the amendment, 118; against the amendment, 162, noncommittal, 153.

As it takes a two-thirds vote in each house for an amendment to the Constitution to be proposed to the States, it is apparent that even if all the noncommittals or undecided should cast their votes for the amendment, still it would fail.

\* \* \* \* \*

The indications are that the House and Senate will realize the hopelessness of favorable action on the amendment and will keep it in the committee as long as possible. To force a vote it is probable the suffrage advocates will circulate an appeal for caucus action.

Fifty Democrats can compel a caucus meeting. But the caucus is not likely to go on record in favor of amending the Federal Constitution when their party leader in the person of the President has said the matter is one for State rather than federal action.

Altogether the prospects are not as bright for suffrage in Washington as they were during the last Congress.

That this activity is ill-timed and that the leaders of it have lost their sense of proportion is the opinion expressed by the *New York Times* in the following editorial:

(*New York Times*, Nov. 30, 1915)

### THE WRONG TIME.

Miss Alice Paul, Chairman of the Congressional Union, which at the last election opposed all the Democratic candidates for the House, whether Suffragists or not, on the theory that the party in power must be held responsible for the defeat of the woman suffrage constitutional amendment, defends that course in a statement from which it is enough to quote this curious opinion:

"We believe that there is at present before the country no more important issue than the enfranchisement of women."

This just as Congress is about to meet, and the vital matter of national preparedness, grave international questions, inescapable questions of revenue and commerce are to be discussed; when abroad and at home the thought and energy of Americans are engaged by problems of prime necessity to national well-being and self-preservation.

The sense of proportion of the Federal Suffragists is all askew. They injure their cause by seeking to foist upon Congress and the country a change now and for long impossible in the form of a Federal amendment. They injure woman suffrage, even in the several States where it is properly to be granted or withheld, by vociferation about a subject which in the press of ineluctable duties springing from the war is for the moment secondary, and even negligible.

It is no time for theatricals in Washington.

That there are other "causes" which might with equal or greater cause demand a hearing upon the floor of the House is the opinion of the *Sun*, whose editorial comment follows:

(*New York Sun*, Nov. 30, 1915)

The ladies who want to address Congress upon the subject of votes for women should remember that ardent advocates of national prohibition and champions of still other causes would also like to be heard. Distinguished foreigners, Lafayette, Kosuth and Charles Stewart Parnell, have been invited to speak on the floor of the House of Representatives, but the bars were never taken down to domestic propagandists. What a plaguing precedent would be established if the Suffragist ladies had their way!

Still another newspaper points out the "unfairness" of Federal intervention by an interesting comparison:

(Amityville, N. Y., *Record*, Nov. 12)

Suffrage leaders who would try at Washington to force upon all the States the acceptance of suffrage when some States, like New York, have rejected it by an impressive vote, will not meet with a cordial reception for their project. Would any one think it fair for the backers of the revised Constitution, which was lost in the election, to try to have Congress tell the State that it must adopt it?

## "SUFFRAGISTS TRAITORS TO DEMOCRACY"

By MARJORIE DORMAN

THE present year of international strife is not a time for any nation to engage in civil strife. All factions should cooperate during the present session of our Congress at Washington and give it united support. The very existence of our nation may at some time depend upon the deliberations of this session of Congress. We are not called upon to-day to die for our country, but to live for it so intelligently that future generations may deem us worthy of our great heritage, that heritage which our forefathers consecrated with their blood. Attempts to divert Congress from the grave and solemn business before it are unworthy of any citizen who has accepted the protection of our flag.

The Susan B. Anthony suffrage bill, providing for a Federal amendment granting the vote to women, subject to ratification by the States, has been introduced in one form or another at every session of Congress since 1869. With the majority of the States opposed to its passage, the introduction of such a measure is a mere waste of time. This is conceded by many Suffragists. Nevertheless, in the midst of a world crisis, the Suffragists have again introduced this bill. They are determined to keep themselves before the public and so gratify their personal aims and ambitions. They are determined to harass and hamper our representatives in Washington at a time when these representatives owe it to those who elected them to concentrate their full energies upon the grave and solemn business before the nation.

It is strange that the Suffragists cannot realize that the whole is of necessity greater than any of its parts. This business before Congress concerns the Suffragists as well as all other factionists. As the *New York Evening Sun* said on December 6th last:

"It is not going too far to say that on what is done in the next few weeks toward preparedness for national defence the enjoyment of the right to vote, both by the men and the women of this country, may at some time in the future depend."

Upon what do the Suffragists base their demand for attention from Congress at this crucial moment in world affairs? Upon the fact that 11 States in the Union have adopted full suffrage for women within the past 46 years. These States have an aggregate population of 8,189,469 and their combined majorities for suffrage were 93,174.

Against this fact we place the action of the 11 States which have rejected woman suffrage in the last three years. These States have an aggregate population of 38,209,953, or 35 per cent. of the total population of the entire United States. Majorities totalling 977,891 were given against woman suffrage in these 11 States. To this let me add that adverse action has been taken on woman suffrage in 18 State legislatures during the year just ended.

The time is rapidly passing in this world when an individual or a small group of people may dictate to the majority. In the European conflagration we see the hope of a brighter to-morrow for humanity. May we not hope that some day all governments will derive their just powers from the consent of the majority of those governed? At least let us do what we can toward the maintenance of this principle in these United States.

The Suffragists have become traitors to this principle. They have repudiated the principles of democracy if not our existing form of government. Five days after the election of November 2d, when the people of New York rejected woman suffrage by a majority of 190,000, the following repudiation of democracy was endorsed by the Woman's Political Union: "New York men have lost—lost their chance to give justice to women. They will not have another. Woman suffrage will now be forced upon them by the passage of the Federal Amendment and ratified by the

New York State Legislature." This epitomizes the position of every man and woman who is working for the Federal Amendment. It typifies the stand taken by Governor Whitman and Mayor Mitchell of New York when they placed their signatures upon the petition for the Federal Amendment. These men were elected to represent the people of the State and City of New York. By their action they misrepresented the people and endorsed that outworn, outgrown tenet of passing forms of government—minority rule, dictatorship of the few over the many. So far as they are concerned, government by, for and of the people is an empty and meaningless thing.

Since such is the attitude of Suffragists toward the principles of self-government our forefathers died to perpetuate, their attitude toward the business before Congress is easy to understand. They prefer not to have the principles of democracy perpetuated. They themselves are seeking to remove the very corner-stone of the structure of our government. They do not appreciate the heritage given us by the founders of this republic. The future permanence of this republic for our children and their children means nothing whatever to the Suffragists.

Enemies of our republican form of government do not all reside outside the borders of the United States, as we have had many revelations of late. And among others who have proved traitors to the flag which shelters them may be termed all who would force the majority to do the will of the minority. We are devoutly thankful that so few of our sex are numbered as Suffragists. The great majority of our women, we devoutly believe, are worthy of their heritage.

### "MY STATE HAS VOTED NO"

1

To Congress, to Congress, to buy a nice  
vote,  
Home again, home again, chance is remote;  
To Congress, to Congress, to purchase a  
bill,  
Home again, home again, lacking it still;  
To Congress, to Congress, nothing is won,  
Home again, home again, thoroughly done.

2

There was a little maid from Wyoming,  
who said,  
I'm pining to go to the polls, polls, polls,  
But I cannot go to town without a fine new  
gown,  
I'll stay here at home and bake the  
rolls, rolls, rolls.

3

Four and twenty Suffragists went to win  
a male,  
Their gowns they were the newest, but their  
arguments were stale;  
He shook his weary head at them and  
made a lowly bow,  
"My State has voted NO," he said, "I can-  
not help you now."



## WHY A PROMINENT SUFFRAGIST BECAME AN "ANTI"

From an Address by MRS. T. B. WALKER, of Minneapolis, Minn.

(Mrs. Walker is widely known throughout the Northwest on account of her long life of active, charitable and philanthropic service. She is President of Bethany Home of Minneapolis and for almost forty years she has been actively engaged in reformatory work for women in the Sisterhood of Bethany. For over

thirty years she has been President of Northwestern Hospital for Women and Children and she has served as Vice-President of the Y. W. C. A. She is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in which she has always been an earnest and indefatigable worker. Her testimony should be of great interest to women.)

I FEEL to-day exceedingly awkward and out of place in appearing before you, for many reasons, not the least of which is because I feel that whatever amount of time I may consume might be so much better and more profitably occupied by your other speakers, who come to you with so much better preparation and equipment to speak upon the subject before us.

For another reason I feel embarrassed. I was brought up a staunch Methodist (which I beg you will not consider anything against me!) and of all characters, I was taught to feel the least respect for what we called a *Back Slider*. Yet I stand before you to-day in exactly this attitude. For a large number of the many years of my life, I stood staunchly for equal suffrage, and fully believed that I knew what I knew on the subject, and knew it all! During some of those years I wrote more or less, and wrought out some touching pictures (I came very near saying *moving pictures*!) concerning the tyranny and inhumanity of man to woman, and the bond slaves which we all were, because we had no hand in the making and unmaking of the laws of the land, or in the election of the president, the governor or the pound master! I fully believed in those days that the withholding of the franchise from women was the cause and secret reason for all the ills which afflict humanity—especially on the side of the woman.

It seems to me now in looking back upon my mental attitude during those years that I really felt, though I did not realize it fully, that all the hardships in the lives of women, both those in their own homes, and the wage earners', might be swept aside if woman could but raise her hand at the polls and say, "This must stop, and all the blessings of life must be equally divided between men and women." I seem to have thought more of the woman sweating over the cook stove and the washtub than of the husband toiling in the broiling sun in the field, swinging the scythe or wielding the hoe; I seem to have thought that the father should have taken upon his shoulders at least half of the daily care of the children, but forgot to wonder who would do his work of providing funds and clothing and shelter for these same children and their mother!

Not to longer linger over those early day thoughts, I will only add that my first real shock came to me when a very prominent woman in the East approached me with an urgent appeal that I drop my narrow career and come forth into the lecture field in the interests of equal suffrage! She was very indignant when I could not see my way clear, and when I summed up the ties which bound me to my restricted field, she summed up her opinion of my "excuses" in the one word, "nonsense!" My excuses were my duties in certain church and charity works and, incidentally, an inconvenient husband and eight small children!

But no longer to follow personalities, I have only to say that in the long and many years of my life, for I am surely near to the sunset; and the shadows from the West fall long and far

over the fields. In those years, through the constant work and study and thought of both men and women, social conditions have changed and shifted and developed along the lines of easier lives for both, and for the good of both, for the greater sources of pleasure and benefit to both, and as I verily believe to-day, to the end of drawing nearer, and more closely binding together the lives and interests and happiness of both sexes, until there remains very little more for either to ask. Surely my grandmother's life was not full of the privileges of mine, nor was my mother's, though she had much more than *her* mother, and my daughters' lives are far fuller of privileges and opportunities than was mine at their ages—and to-day it seems to me that woman-kind has more than she ever asked for or even thought that she wanted.

And these things have not come to us through breaking out of our homes and our normal lives, nor through any plunge into the at least doubtfully sanitary waters of political turmoil and contest. We do not owe our progress or advancement to the fact that in some countries and in some even of our own States, this change has taken place. It has come through the general spread of knowledge and education and progress of invention and discovery, carried on for that matter far more strenuously by men than by women, but in the benefits of which we have equally shared, until the world lives to-day under conditions and with privileges and opportunities such as have never existed before, and the end is not yet!

At least it is our own fault if a halt is called in this march to victory, and there is but one power which can stop and destroy the glorious progress of a conquering army, and this is dissension in its own ranks. Many things truly remain to be done before perfect conditions are obtained in our social world, and it is well we still have plenty to do, plenty to work for, plenty to accomplish. But so long as we have these greater things to bring about; so long as there is such joy in their accomplishment, why should we stop to wrangle and argue and insist upon having given us what we do not need, do not miss, *do not want*? Why can we not keep up this march of progress and victory, men and women together, each in his own field, shoulder to shoulder, hand to hand, step to step, eye to eye, constant in progress, certain of victory? There is no other way, there is no other hope. Each sex is hopelessly dependent upon the other; neither can fill the other's field. God made us in this way and intended that we should so remain. And the day when that relationship is broken, and the day when either sex demands of the other, that to which they have no claim, and for which they have nothing to give in return, and the possession of which adds to the weight of their responsibilities, beyond what they are able to carry—is the day which will begin the downfall and destruction of our present age and era of progress and success.

Such do I believe would be the result of equal suffrage for men and women, and from it I pray God to save our country.



## A STUDY ON WOMAN IN GOVERNMENT

**Q.** WHAT is the ballot?

**A.** It is a part of the machinery of government. It is the vote which is cast at the polls for some governmental official, and more rarely for or against some governmental measure.

**Q.** Is there any right to the ballot on the part of any one?

**A.** No. The ballot is not a "right." The highest judicial authorities have declared this. And when we realize what it is for and that all "rights" are determined by what is best for the race, we all agree with such decree. The ballot is simply a certain responsibility which has been given to designated groups of persons.

**Q.** What are the reasons for extending the use of the ballot or for withholding it from any person or group?

**A.** The good of the State. This means not only the governmental machinery of the State, but all the men, women and children of the State. We have evolved a democratic form of government because we believe such form works out best for the State.

**Q.** Can we have a democracy without woman suffrage?

**A.** Yes. In extending the ballot to all male citizens, we have included every possible economic and political interest. The interests of men and women are identical. Therefore every class, by which we mean every group with interests of its own to be served, is represented at the polls. That is democracy.

**Q.** Do all male citizens vote?

**A.** No. Men with no permanent residence do not, and the men of the standing Army and the Navy do not—are not allowed to—in many States. The reason is that it has been believed to work out best to have those groups, for different reasons, outside of our politics.

**Q.** Are the rights or the welfare of women discriminated against in laws because they are not voters?

**A.** No. Women are as well protected, group for group, in States where they do not vote as in States where they do. This is true of property-owning women, wage-earning women, wives, mothers, every group. Moreover, women are better protected under the law than men are, although men vote and they do not.

**Q.** Would not women have the interests of children at heart more closely than men would?

**A.** Apparently not; or else women have just as much influence on legislation where they are not voters as where they are. For the best laws for children are found in States where they do not vote. Owen Lovejoy, Secretary of the National Child Labor Commission, has recently stated that Ohio has the best children's code in the country, and it is generally accepted that Massachusetts, New York, Oklahoma, Nebraska and Michigan stand as examples of the best child labor legislation.

**Q.** Will woman suffrage mean better temperance laws?

**A.** It has not done so. There were eleven male suffrage prohibition States before one woman suffrage State adopted prohibition.

**Q.** Are there no lines of social legislation which have first been adopted by woman suffrage States?

**A.** None has ever been discovered. Laws limiting hours of work for women, abolishing night labor for women, widowed mothers' pension laws, red-light abatement laws, juvenile court establishment, and all others of any importance have been adopted first by male suffrage States.

William Hard and V. D. Jordan, trained social investigators, with leanings toward suffrage, summarize their recent article on how it really works, with these words, "In other words, we don't see woman suffrage doing anything that men haven't done already."

**Q.** But have women not some kind of special contribution to make to politics?

**A.** Experience would say "No." The women who have made "special" contributions to our State or country, that is, contributions which differ either in kind or degree from the contributions made by men, have every one of them made it through non-political channels. They have served society wonderfully, in the home and out of it, through all the centuries. But those who stand above men for their contribution to society have done their work either in that home or out of it in non-political life and in non-political type of service. The women who have served through political channels are remarkable only because they are women and not because there are no men who have equalled them. Women have held office, appointive and elective, in equal suffrage and in male suffrage States. And there is not one woman legislator who, however capable, and honest, and public-spirited, she may be, who is not matched by men, equally or more efficient along exactly the same lines. There is not one woman in an administrative office who has excelled the men in the same sort of offices. For example, however proud women are of such women as Katherine B. Davis and the work such women have done, they are proud because a woman is doing it, and not because for one minute they contend that Katherine Davis is superior to Thomas Mott Osborne in correctional work among prisoners.

**Q.** Well, then, what about the principle back of the vote, what about taxation without representation. Isn't that tyranny?

**A.** It is. But none exists in this country, and it has not the slightest connection with woman suffrage. You spoke about democracy. Why, the most undemocratic thing you could say would be to argue that taxes should buy the use of the ballot. We don't buy votes with taxes. We buy good roads, fire protection, police protection and all the other things which a government is for. The woman gets all the protection in return for her taxes that a man does. In practice, she gets a bit more, because of just such laws as that widowed mothers' pension law, which the taxes of both men and women pay for and the benefit goes only to women—and children, of course.

Taxation without representation which our forefathers called tyranny meant the taxing of one country without that country having any representative in the body which taxed it, the English Parliament. The interests of this country were not represented there. But there are about nine male tax-payers to every woman who pays taxes. Therefore the woman's interests are represented, so far as her property interests are concerned, by nine men. They can't misrepresent her interests without misrepresenting their own. That goes right back to what we said about democracy in the first part of this discussion. The interests of the men and women are identical.

**Q.** But granted then that women are represented, that we suffer no discrimination under the law, and that woman suffrage is not needed to give women protection or to protect the welfare of children, granting that it is unnecessary both from principle and expediency, still what harm could it do? And therefore why should it be opposed?

**A.** There are certain very definite ways in which it would be disadvantageous to the State and to woman's work and therefore harmful.

First, it will increase the indifferent vote. It will decrease the percentage of enfranchised voters who do vote and it will increase the number who vote indifferently and therefore irresponsibly. This has always been true. In no equal suffrage State do women vote in as great numbers as men. An increase in the



indifferent vote is a bad thing in a democracy. It weakens the responsibility of the electorate, which is what makes possible conditions such as prevailed in Colorado last year. It decreases the respect for the ballot, and always increases the power of the political boss.

*Second*, woman suffrage means taking away from society much of the non-political power which is so valuable. When it gives the vote to every adult citizen, it leaves no body of people with non-political, non-partisan power to go before a legislative body and ask for the passage of a measure on the merits of that measure, regardless of how the individuals in that body may stand politically, no matter how they voted last time, or are going to vote next time. It was such power which obtained

the passage of New York's equal guardianship, mothers' pension and various other measures. The Woman's Municipal League of New York stands as one example of the value of such power.

*Third*, we all know there is too much work in the world to be done well unless we divide up responsibilities and divide labor. We must not force upon every group of persons every kind of responsibility, or else some of the work will be neglected, some of the energy wasted. Woman suffrage means just that waste in lamentable proportions. Women cannot do the work there is at their hand to do, work which must be done if we are to have well-balanced progress, if they must share with men the political and governmental responsibility of the ballot and all that goes with it.

## A FIRST LESSON IN POLITICAL PRINCIPLES

**Q.** CAN you give me a good reason why women should not vote?

**A.** Yes. Woman suffrage would greatly increase the cost of government if adopted in States where there were as many women as men. There are very few women in comparison to men in the woman suffrage States.

**Q.** Why shouldn't we increase the cost of government? The government has plenty of money to spend, hasn't it?

**A.** The government of a republic can only raise money from its people. We are the people. You and myself, our friends and neighbors—we are the people and from us and through us the government derives its power and its income. Any increase in the cost of government affects us. If the cost of government is increased by a doubled electorate, the taxes will have to be raised to meet the increased cost. This means increased rents and an increase in the cost of all the necessities of life. It means adding to the present high cost of living.

**Q.** How am I a part of this government when I have no vote?

**A.** You are a citizen of this country, with all the rights of a citizen. Many citizens cannot vote, however. No intelligent youth of 19 or 20 may vote; no resident of the District of Columbia may vote; soldiers and sailors are not permitted to vote in numerous States.

**Q.** But should not governments "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed"?

**A.** A republic should derive its just powers from the consent of the *majority* of the governed. The majority of the women give their consent to our existing form of government. Remember that less than 10 per cent. of the women of our country are dissatisfied with government in the hands of men. The majority of us give our consent to our present form of government. We have not lost faith in our husbands, fathers, brothers and sons. If the majority of women desired the vote we could obtain it with very little difficulty.

**Q.** I do not see why a woman who wants a vote should not have it.

**A.** She could not receive it without placing the obligation to vote upon hundreds of women who object to assuming this responsibility. So that, being democratic, we submit to the wishes of the majority and let them decide the matter.

**Q.** Why need those hundreds of women use their votes if they do not want to? Nobody has to vote.

**A.** No. Nobody is compelled to vote by the law of the land. But there are higher laws—moral laws—which teach us that responsibility goes with power of any kind. People who shirk the responsibilities which are laid upon them are not good citizens. Voters who stay home on election day are like soldiers

who desert in the day of battle. These women who do not want to vote believe that the responsibilities of jury service and military service go with voting; also a wider knowledge of public affairs than is possessed by the average woman. They do not think women are fitted for either military or jury duty. They believe that the average woman who does her own housework and has three children has no time nor desire to assume added responsibility. A knowledge of public questions can only be acquired in public ways, on the streets, in the cars, in the political club. The organization of all women into political clubs is neither desirable nor necessary. Yet how else may the busy housewife and mother acquire a knowledge of business and political conditions? Man's work takes him into the crowd; woman's normal work takes her out of it. Children were not intended to be brought up in a crowd.

**Q.** Are not these women who do not want to vote trying to shirk their duty?

**A.** No. The duty of men and women toward the State is not the same. The primary functions of any government are the enforcement of its laws and the protection of life and property. So long as there are any men to perform these tasks, women may be excused from them to do other work.

**Q.** What is the duty of women toward the State?

**A.** It is the duty of women to bear and train the youth of the State, in the home, the church and the school. Men make and enforce the law; women teach the observance of this law. The home is the foundation of the State.

**Q.** But what about the women who have no homes?

**A.** They are in a small minority. Only 19.5 per cent. of the women of voting age in our country are single women. We cannot run our country for the exceptional man and woman. We must conduct it for the average man and woman. Most women are the mothers of little children.

**Q.** But isn't woman suffrage sure to come?

**A.** No. Eleven of the largest States in the Union have rejected woman suffrage by big majorities. Only 8.2 per cent. of the people of our country are living under equal suffrage to-day.

**Q.** Are not conditions better for women in the States where they can vote?

**A.** Not at all. This is proven by the fact that so few women care to live there.

**Q.** But the laws are better in suffrage States, are they not?

**A.** No. In fact, non-suffrage States lead, even in laws for the benefit of women and children. Judge Ben Lindsey, of Denver, says that Colorado is twenty years behind Massachusetts—and women have been voting in Colorado for twenty-four years.



## "SUFFRAGE A BATTLE AGAINST GOD AND NATURE"

(*Courier-Journal*, Nov. 8)

THE leaders of the demand for the franchise—"Votes for Women"—who before the world-war were levying a kind of civil war in England have transferred their activities thence to the United States. The demand must be considered, therefore, if taken rightly, as the "first gun" in a set battle levied against God and nature. Otherwise, it would hardly be worth considering at all.

Whether in case the existing American electorate—confessedly imperfect—should be doubled by the proposed addition, its imperfections would be thereby increased, or diminished, the general results would be likely to remain unchanged. The women would divide much as the men do. That is the experience where woman suffrage has been tried. Neither great good nor great harm has followed. It is that which lurks behind which should give pause to serious and reflecting women no less than to serious and reflecting men, and, as a consequence, wherever the question has been most considered and discussed, the scheme of revolution it embodies has lost, not gained, in the arbitrament of ballots.

We publish in this issue of the *Courier-Journal* a table by way of illustration. In 1912 Michigan polled a majority of only 760 against woman suffrage. A year later, in 1913, after fuller consideration and discussion, the majority rose to 96,144. Likewise in Ohio in 1912 the majority against woman suffrage was 87,455, but in 1914, with two years more of consideration and discussion, it rose to 182,905. Taken in connection with the recent overwhelming majorities in New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, this does not indicate that woman suffrage is inevitable and "bound to come," as its advocates are so fond of saying.

But, let us repeat, the matter of "Votes for Women" is the least part of it. If by some miracle they should come to pass overnight it would amount to little. After the novelty wore off it would in many places lapse into what Mr. Cleveland used to call "innocuous desuetude." In others it would simply multiply the ballots. Nowhere would it, nor could it, elevate or purify the voting.

In their methods of propaganda the women have shown themselves as unfair

and intolerant as the men. In their methods of exploitation they are just as blatant and fantastic. The politician in petticoats is for all the world the same animal as the politician in breeches; self-assertive; ambitious for leadership; eager for the limelight. The real danger is a threatened degradation of woman to the level of man. Back of the gay banners inscribed with "Votes for Women"—behind the more or less impressive columns of marching and countermarching zealots—stands half-hidden a figure which is full of menace: the figure of a woman clad in armor; a sibyl carrying a spear; a pagan priestess waiting silent her time to throw off the mask and herald the Religion of Feminism, to proclaim the end of the Religion of Christ, and in the dread words, "Down with the man-made Bible," to pronounce the doom of the world.

This it is which the *Courier-Journal* contests, and it is the knowledge of it, wherever the question has been considered, discussed and understood, which will account for the rising vote against it.

## "THE WAVE OF SUFFRAGE EMOTIONALISM IS SPENT"

(From *Birmingham News*)

THE overwhelming defeat of the suffrage propositions in New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts yesterday, coming in the immediate wake of the New Jersey fiasco, was not unexpected. It merely evidences that the highest wave of emotionalism over the matter of suffrage for all, regardless of color or sex, has about spent itself.

It shows, too, that the sentimentalism which promoted, or influenced, thousands of voters in the quixotic ranks, is finding its natural reaction in the conservative and saner view.

Politics is essentially a business for man-handling.

It is well enough that several States have declared for equal suffrage. Even the most violent opposer of woman suffrage does not regret the declaration of those States, or that the women of those States have been given the ballot. However futile the experiment has been in forwarding civic righteousness, whatever that is, or any other sort of righteousness, its unprac-

ticality could only be proven by testing it out.

But there are more potent and grave reasons why this agitation should be stopped now. The gravest of these, perhaps, is not so much that woman's ballot will inject an element of danger to laws that the males of the States would rather not have abrogated, but rather the drift toward feminism and all that much abused and misused word implies. It isn't that man doesn't regard woman as his peer, and it isn't that man feels any sense of lordship—a sort of Chanticleer regard for the Pheasant Hen—that he has been loath to meet her on the new terms. The reason lies infinitely deeper, too, than a chivalric feeling and a sense of strength over weakness.

The reason lies in the heart of the race. There can be no equality between the sexes. "Man and woman created He them" may even be charged by the restless and dissatisfied ladies as an outworn and hackneyed argument, but the manly man and the womanly woman know what worlds of dif-

ference lie between the male and female. Those differences cannot be bridged, nor shunted, nor forgotten, and it were folly to attempt to do so. The manly man and the womanly woman know that in that very difference in temperament, and mental and physical structure lie the certain and sure happiness and propinquity of the sexes.

Man has frequently blundered, enacted bad laws. The development has been tedious, but it is a long path from the amoeba to man-erect. Always, according to his lights, he has rectified errors, corrected those blunders; needed alterations in those statutes have been made as they were seen to be wrong, unjust.

If suffrage for all is deferred for many years, even those who strongly favor it must see the deep underlying causes for it.

Whatever grave dangers might have resulted in New Jersey, Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania, from adoption of the equal suffrage plan, certainly the experiment would be a hazard and a menace below the Mason and Dixon line.



## MORE EVIDENCE THAT SUFFRAGE IS GOING

(Washington Herald, Nov. 22)

"SUFFRAGE is not coming—it is going," says Mrs. Joseph M. Stoddard, chairman of the executive committee of the District of Columbia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, in a letter to the *Washington Herald*.

"All the bombastic methods known to human ingenuity, sensational advertising, street-corner oratory, organized parades, Mrs. Leslie's million dollar legacy, claims of the greatest political campaign in history, with tabs on all the voters in the State through a card index system, failed to overthrow an organized body of earnest women with few speakers and little money, representing 80 per cent. of the women of the country when these two opposing forces fought the battle of woman suffrage at the polls on November 2d.

"In the four States which contain more than 25 per cent. of the voters of the United States the suffrage amendment was killed at the two recent elections by an overwhelming majority. Against such tremendous odds this must be considered an epochal victory for the Anti-Suffragists of

the country. The example of the Western States has not established a precedent in the East. The Suffragists had much to say about the conservatism of New Jersey, but progressive Pennsylvania gave 200,000 majority for Roosevelt in 1912 and on November 2d defeated suffrage by over 50,000. They claim that the politicians killed suffrage in New Jersey and called it a political machine.

"In Pennsylvania it is a well-known fact that the politicians favored suffrage, yet with this tremendous power that makes and breaks it failed to bring suffrage to a victory. Mrs. Catt says, 'she did not expect a victory in Massachusetts, the State was too conservative, yet Judge Lindsey states Colorado with its twenty-three years of 'votes for women' is twenty years behind Massachusetts with its splendid remedial legislation. In New York, the Governor, the Mayor of New York city, Senator O'Gorman and a tremendous press power failed to convince the voters that women in politics was a good step in modern civilization. With this array of facts is it not a wise deduction and does it not prove in

an irrefutable way that this indirect influence which the Suffragists denounce so vigorously is the ruling and all-powerful influence in questions affecting home and State?

"This is a victory for the women—the great mass of normal, hard-working, home-loving, conservative, modern women who know and feel the need of protection, and who realize that to lose that protection, to be forced upon a basis of economic independence and political equality, would be the greatest calamity that could befall them and the succeeding generations.

"The *Los Angeles Times* of October 27th gives us a striking instance of the increasing indifference where women vote. 'Two women voted yesterday out of 71 registered. This is an average of less than three in 100. With ideal conditions for exercising of the suffrage. None needed to walk more than two blocks on perfect sidewalks and pavements in entrancing weather.'

"When we realize that this election was on important State constitutional amendments it proves conclusively that women will not use the franchise when it is given them. Suffrage is not coming—it is going!"

## TROUBLE IN ILLINOIS

THE inevitable has come to pass in Illinois.

The "clever" woman Suffragists who hoodwinked the State by slipping a measure through the legislature partly enfranchising all women are witnessing the complications that were sure to ensue.

The following despatch in the *Syracuse Post-Standard* reveals the situation:

"SPRINGFIELD, ILL., November 19.—The right of Illinois women to vote for delegates to the national conventions of the several parties, which has been at issue in the construing of the existing election laws, may be determined at the special session of the Illinois Legislature, a call for which was issued to-day by Governor Edward F. Dunne.

"Governor Dunne's proclamation provides for consideration of the primary election act and members at the Legislature here predicted the suffrage issue might precipitate at a political wrangle which might keep the session open all winter."

This situation provoked the following editorial in *The Syracuse Herald*:

"Whether the women of Illinois shall have the right to vote for delegates to the national convention of the several political parties next year, is a question that has produced a good deal of contention in that

State and one that can only be decided by the Legislature, which has just been called together in extra session for the purpose.

"The controversy serves to reveal once more the incongruity of the Illinois electoral system, so far as the political status of women is concerned. The suffrage statute enacted by the Progressive Legislature of 1913 conferred the franchise on women with respect to all offices not of constitutional creation. One curious result is that the women of Illinois are estopped from voting for Governor and other State officers, but are at liberty to vote for Presidential electors. One would imagine that the privilege of voting for Presidential electors would involve the privilege of voting for national convention delegates, the latter officers not being of constitutional creation. But there is probably some provision in the primary or election laws of the State that requires amendment before the female vote can legally be polled for delegates.

"The Illinois Legislature should lose no time in remedying a system so inconsistent and illogical. It is ridiculous to give women the franchise privilege as regards Presidential electors and to withhold it in the primary contests for convention delegates."

## LIQUOR

(From Boston, Mass., *Ideas*, Nov. 13)

DEMOCRATIC leaders blame the liquor men for the defeat of Governor Walsh, and they are considering a plan to give women the vote on the question of prohibition.

The project was conceived by friends of Mayor Curley, who put it before the Mayor. The proposal is this:

To present to the Legislature next year as a Democratic party measure, backed by Walsh and Curley, a measure to give the women the vote on prohibition, just as they now have the vote on school questions.

This would not require a constitutional amendment, in the opinion of the men who propose the plan. They say the Legislature by a simple enactment could give women the vote, just as the school vote was given.

These astute politicians who are seeking for a cause to account for their defeat should read history. They would discover that Denver was "wet" for twenty-one years, during which women voted; that California, where women vote, rejected prohibition by a huge majority; that of the nineteen prohibition States, only six are Suffrage States; and that only six out of eleven suffrage States are prohibition States and that one of these was "prohibition" before it was "suffrage."



## WHAT FOLLOWS IN THE WAKE OF SUFFRAGE

### DIVORCE

**I**N a letter printed in the *Louisville Courier Journal*, Nov. 8, Mabel Os-good, writing from Boston, says:

"In an article entitled 'The Free Women of the North,' by Mabel Potter Dagget, in the *Pictorial Review*, for September, 1915, we are told of the wonderful advances of women in Scandinavian countries, owing to the fact that they have the vote. She says here in America we have thought we had comparatively easy divorce, but in America to obtain a divorce, there must be 'grounds,' which means that one party or the other to the marriage must be guilty of wrong to the other, but in Scandinavia the law does not require husband and wife to wait until one has wronged the other. They may secure a divorce for the asking. It doesn't cost anything. There is not even a lawyer needed. The process is simple; one notifies a magistrate that you are separating. You are not required to go into details. You simply state that you no longer wish to continue the marriage. Then one party to the contract goes away for a year—in Finland it is for only three months—at the end of that period the magistrate hands you the papers that dissolve the marriage as quietly as it was made.

"But even this amount of freedom does not satisfy the voting Scandinavian woman. Scandinavia has originated the 'conscience marriage,' which is without any legal tie. It is simply an announcement in the newspapers that this man and this woman take each other for husband and wife. Either, of course, is free to leave the other at any time. This marital freedom, Miss Dagget tells us, has come through economic freedom. With the revision of the marriage relation, all special privileges for women, she tells us, are being abolished. This is the road on which suffrage and feminism are traveling."

### SOCIALISM

**S**PEAKING of Woman Suffragists in Germany, Rheta Childe Dorr, in her book entitled "What Eight Million Women Want," chapter III, pages 70 and 71, says: "She is a Suffragist because she is a socialist, because woman suffrage, and indeed, the full equalization of the laws governing men and women are a part of the socialist platform in every country in the world. The woman member of the social Democratic party is not working primarily for woman suffrage. She is working for a

complete overturning of the present economic system, and she advocates universal adult suffrage as a means of bringing about the social and economic changes demanded by the socialists.

"Their American prototypes are to be found in the Women's Trade Union League, described in a later chapter."

### DISHONOR

**T**HE Anti-Enlistment League of Brooklyn, New York, whose chairman is Jessie Wallace Hughan, is circulating a pledge that reads:

"I, being over eighteen years of age, hereby pledge myself against enlistment as a volunteer for any military or naval service in international war, offensive or defensive, and against giving my approval to such enlistment on the part of others."

### THE NEW CULT

Behold there has risen among us a new Cult. It is called the Cult of Peace, but not so; its real name is the Cult of Cowardice.

From high living and low thinking has it sprung, and bodily ease and bodily safety are its aim.

It weareth many disguises, and the heart and the mind must be sharpened by pain, and the eyes must be strong with the effort of far-seeing to penetrate and see beneath them.

Even the religion of the Lord Jesus has been prostituted to the service of the Cult, and its devotees forget that He died to uphold an ideal of self-sacrifice and service, and remember only His gentle words.

Lo! for fifty years have our sons been in the hands of women, our schools are hotbeds of feminism, and therefore many of our sons are contemptible in the sight of their fathers.

In the Councils of the Cult honor and patriotism are no longer words of sweet savor, but are spewed from their unclean mouths.

The wealth which shall give ease, and a bed soft to lie upon, these are the goals which they do seek.

No longer do their daughters arm their husbands and send them forth to fight for that something which is better than life, and higher than happiness, but they hug the busy littlenesses of daily toil, and make idols of them.

Oh, Lord, look down upon us and pity us. Crush out this puerile and unworthy spirit; raise up again the spirit of our forefathers who knew the high and noble things and fought for and followed them.

Pour down Thy wrath and burn in a mighty and destroying flame the ignoble creation of these Thy unworthy children, and wipe from the face of our land the Cult of Cowardice.

L. G. S.

### SUFFRAGETTES

(*Philadelphia Record*, Nov. 14)

**C**AROLYN WELLS has written thousands of laughs, big laughs, stories, jokes, sketches and verses. Yet she had little hesitancy in picking out the following as her best laugh:

#### IFS FOR WOMEN

If you can lose your head when all about you

Are wagging theirs while listening to you;  
If you can make your speech though all men flout you,

Yet make arrangements for their speaking too;

If you can bluff and not get caught at bluffing.

If you can lose your nerve and never tell;  
Or being oft rebuffed, don't mind rebuffing,  
And yet don't look too smart nor dress too well;

If you can hear the truth about the Suffrage  
Twisted about by Antis in defense,  
While you anew in acrimonious huff, rage,  
And use the same old worn-out arguments;

If you can make one heap of all your home-life,  
And lose it in this game of Pitch-and-Toss;  
And lead a sort of Circus-Hippodrome Life,  
And never care a cent about your loss;

If you can lose your grace and charm and fancy,  
And all the traits adorning woman best,  
Preferring to go in for militancy,—  
Achieving a spectacular arrest;

If you can march with crowds in straggling manner,  
Or ride a horse, or perch upon a float,  
If you have "Votes for Women" on your banner,  
If nothing counts with you except the vote;

If you acquire a latch-key and a pocket,  
If you can learn to smoke a cigarette;  
You'll interest the Public, though you shock it,—

And, what is worse, you'll be a Suffragette.  
—From *Life*.



## THE "UPLIFTING, MORAL ELEMENT" IN POLITICS

### DECENCY

(From November *Sunset Magazine*)

THE primary campaign in San Francisco offered the recently enfranchised women a splendid chance to strike a hard blow for civic decency. Their influence could have been wielded to administer a crushing rebuke to Eugene Schmitz, bosom friend of Abe Ruef and erstwhile head of the most cynically corrupt city administration since Tweed's day. It would have been a splendid triumph for the women voters if they had risen *en masse* and told Schmitz to remain in his deserved obscurity, especially when the discredited ex-mayor addressed his plea primarily to women voters. But they allowed the opportunity to pass. His record notwithstanding, the votes of women notwithstanding, Schmitz received the incredible number of 36,000.

### "RAILROADING"

(From *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, Dec. 1)

METHODS of old-line politicians were employed yesterday, when a suffrage organization of the western counties of Pennsylvania "jammed through" its "slate" despite insurgents from eastern counties. The election took place at the 47th annual convention of the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association, which began in the Hotel Adelphia.

Heated debates arose over the placing of a new set of candidates in the field. Mrs. John O. Miller, of Pittsburgh (known as the "Penrose of the Association"), announced that if she were elected on any but the "slated" ticket she would resign. This was the signal for a general uproar. Women leaped to their feet, and Mrs. Frank M. Roessing, the chairman, rapped repeatedly for order.

Mrs. Miller then took the floor. She said that as the county she represented, Allegheny, bore more than one-half of the financial burden of the late State campaign, she wanted to know what part that county would play in the next campaign, saying: "I cannot see that I can take a part in the campaign of the future unless the ticket of the nominating committee goes through."

A dozen delegates rose in protest, and speech after speech was made by insurgents on the choking of democracy. Then Miss Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College, followed Mrs. Miller by announcing that she, too, would resign if the "slated" ticket did not go through. It went through, and there was no resigning.

### MISREPRESENTATIVES

(*Boston Commercial*, Nov. 13)

AN interesting contribution to the suffrage question was furnished last week at the meeting of the Federation of Women's Clubs of Massachusetts held at Beverly.

Some time ago at the annual meeting, a majority of the delegates went on record as in favor of suffrage. As many of the members of the women's clubs throughout the State are opposed to equal suffrage, an amendment to the constitution of the federation was proposed which should eliminate all political, religious and controversial subjects.

Each club took a vote on the amendment and then sent delegates to Beverly to vote upon it. In some cases delegates were not instructed as it was fully understood that delegates should vote as the club had expressed itself without regard to their own personal preferences.

The outcome was that some of the delegates who were in favor of suffrage but who represented anti-suffrage clubs disregarded the vote of their clubs and voted in favor of suffrage, or against the proposed amendment.

Such a flagrant disregard of a moral obligation in any men's club in the country would call for the resignation of the offending member if not his expulsion and would result in social ostracism.

It remains to be seen what attitude the members of the clubs whose expressed sentiments were so carelessly ignored will take toward their representatives who proved false to the trust imposed in them. Incidentally it furnishes the anti-suffrage forces with another argument which cannot fail to appeal to the intelligence of any man who has to decide what position he will take upon the question.

### FALSE CLAIMS

THE following letter from the *Barnard Bulletin* of the Woman's College of Columbia University is printed because it indicates a general practise of the Suffragists to claim any organization as a supporter of "the cause" without a proper consideration of the facts:

To the Editor of the *Barnard Bulletin*:

Dear Editor: When in your issue of November 2d I found the statement that the college stood almost solidly in back of you on the suffrage question, I developed a great curiosity to know exactly what is meant by "standing almost solidly" in favor

of a proposition. I asked the question numerous times, both of antis and pros. Some considered that when 85 per cent. of a club or organization favored a proposition you could consider it almost solidly in favor, while the majority of people answered 90 per cent. or over.

Out of over eight hundred students at Barnard the straw vote which you refer to shows only 354 in favor of suffrage.

You can speculate about the division of votes among the three hundred who cast no vote, but so can the Antis, and that will not alter the fact that less than 50 per cent. of the college took the stand in favor of suffrage.

I personally do not believe the college is almost solidly in favor of suffrage, and I object strongly to the college paper being used as an organ for either suffrage or feminism.

A certain amount of courtesy is due to the minority, if you consider the Suffragists the majority, and I am sure you will agree with me that for one who is conscientiously, intelligently and after serious consideration, opposed to the extension of the ballot, the *Bulletin* was hardly pleasant reading.

Very truly,

HELEN K. STEVENS, '18.

### MACHINERY

(*Chicago Herald*, November 4)

THERE is nothing that changes votes so effectively," said Mrs. Medill McCormick, the suffrage leader, "as expression of opinion from a Congressman's voting constituency. Many a Congressman has gone to bed at night serene in the thought that he will vote against a measure at 10 o'clock the next morning and a few hundred letters and telegrams in his mail at 9 o'clock have made him change his mind.

"This year we want to bring out hundreds of thousands of telegrams, not hundreds or thousands as we did last year, and we want our organization so perfect that we can call up by telephone in the middle of the night if necessary and have the women in the district swamp the Congressmen with telegrams by the next morning."

### MONEY

(From Reading, Pa., *Telegram*, Nov. 12)

Six thousand women from all parts of the country will meet in Washington December 13th to urge a constitutional amendment giving women votes. Mrs. Jesse D. Hampton, of New York, will look after the \$20,000 financial end of the demonstration.



## A CHAMPION OF THE MAJORITY

THE proposal of the Suffragists to force their wishes upon States whose electorates have declared against them is receiving widespread disapproval through the press.

In a letter to the editor of the *Baltimore Sun*, signed "A Champion of the Majority," the writer discusses the real meaning of this "threat" as follows:

"The Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, representing a small minority of American women, is insistently endeavoring, through Federal legislation, to force their ideas upon the great majority of men and women of many States, in absolute defiance to the fundamental doctrines of American Democracy, which was founded upon the two great principles of majority rule and the right of local self-government."

In a post-election letter, the same writer says:

(From the *Baltimore Sun*, Nov. 5.)

To the EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: A Suffragist from Virginia has been kind enough to notice a few (im)pertinent comments of mine. In order to relieve her uncertainty as to the sex of your correspondent, I would state that I am of the masculine persuasion and am one of those voters convinced by the large majority of his feminine acquaintances that he should courageously stand up for their cause and not be misled by the volume of sound created and kept up by a minority of women, some of whom are now in open rebellion against one of the fundamental principles of our democratic institutions.

This is what "Suffragist" misunderstood when the writer stated that the majority of women must receive the support of the masculine voters as long as it is a majority. These masculine voters are at present the sole protection of these women against the violence of the Suffragist minority. As it is easier to yield to temptation than to resist it, so it is easier to give way under the pressure and persistence of agitators than to continue to deny them. On the other hand, if the Suffragists can convince our best American homemakers that women should vote and enter the arena of political strife generally in competition with men, then it will be my pleasure to vote for what the majority wishes. I am not opposing the women of the country, but am supporting them. I further said, to the great indignation of "Suffragist," that some of this minority would welcome the devil if the devil appeared to advocate "votes for women." Weight is added to my statement when "Suffragist," an apparently well-educated

daughter of Virginia, is willing to throw aside, in the indorsement of the propaganda of the "Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage," a principle for which the best Virginians have contended from the date of the first legislative assembly in America to the present day—principles on which this government was founded and which, we believe, have made it better than any other. "Suffragist" also makes a number of exaggerated statements as to the value of "votes for women," but she does not mention the millennium wrought in Colorado politics by twenty years of suffrage! "Suffragist" dogmatically affirms that the "votes-for-women" agitation is a "reform" movement. Perhaps it is. All social and political sects assert the same thing of their respective ideas and efforts.

It is reported that Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge and a number of women from the "National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage" are going to be present in Washington to checkmate the un-American agitation of the "Congressional Union." All honor to these unselfish American women, who are devoting themselves to the preservation and perpetuation of a fundamental American principle of local self-government. In so doing they are patriotically opposing a group of women who do not, in their membership, seem to represent the efficient homemakers of America; or, for that matter, the abler and more intelligent Suffragists.

Permit me to say to the Virginia Suffragist that if the principle of local self-government be set aside thus lightly to give a majority of women in our several States what they want, or think they want, regardless of the wishes of the majority of their sex, then why would it not be possible for a number of bigots and idealists in some of our States to induce Congress to enact Federal legislation compelling racial equality in political and educational matters, regardless of the wishes of the native white population of the Pacific Coast and in the Southern States? What is there to prevent any sectional idea from being forced upon any State or community by means of Federal legislation? In order to have her will, "Suffragist," like Pandora, would risk the possibility of unloosing innumerable ills upon the body politic.

A CHAMPION OF THE MAJORITY.  
Baltimore, Nov. 5.

## FALSE OPTIMISM

(Amherst, Mass., *Record*, November 12)

NOW that the rumblings of the cyclone are dying away in the distance, the Suffragists are beginning to emerge from the cyclone cellars and allowing that it wasn't much of a wind, after all. With an optimism that is as admirable as it is uncalled for by the circumstances, they insist that things are nothing like as bad with the cause as they might be. Well, perhaps not. To the outsider it seems something difficult to comprehend how they could be much worse. Within a period of two weeks four of the great populous States of the East cast their ballots on the proposition to confer on woman the full privilege of the franchise. These were the "campaign" States for 1915, and in their efforts to carry them the women of the home States had the sympathy and active aid of men and women from other States, who aided them in a speaking campaign and who assisted in financing it. Nothing was omitted from the program that the women and their male supporters could think of as an aid in committing these great States to the suffrage cause. The answer? Well, the adverse majorities of these four States was something more than 400,000 votes. Not a State registered a majority of less than 50,000 against the proposition, while New York defeated it by 175,000 and Massachusetts by 132,000. The map used by the Suffragists in their campaign, showing in white the States where women have full suffrage, in shaded lines where they have part suffrage, and in black the States where they are not allowed to vote, will not have to be remodeled for use in the "campaign" States of the year 1916.

(From *Boston Republic*, November 13)

The heart and the hands of the domestic woman are already full. The society woman usually accounts the suffrage a bore. The working woman, who, it is sometimes claimed, would profit especially from it, declares she has no time for it. These are the classes of women whom the advocates of suffrage have to convert to their convictions before there is any prospect of "votes for women" being nation-wide possessions. They have a sufficiently hard task.



## NOTES AND COMMENT

(Trenton, N. J., *Gazette*, Nov. 8)  
MEAN, MEANER, MEANEST

"With decent men considering the striking of a defeated male antagonist the most cowardly and contemptible of actions, what can be said of the editor who slurs defeated womanhood?"—*Trenton Times*, Democrat.

Such an editor would be pretty mean, but not quite as mean as the editor of the *Times*, who persistently charged the highly respectable and sincere women opposed to woman suffrage with being in league with the liquor interests, white slavers, liars and forgers.

With great glee, this successful moulder of public contempt quotes Senator Borah, who said: "Every evil and corrupt influence in politics is opposed to woman suffrage."

And Borah wants to be President of the United States. The fathers, brothers and husbands of the women he insults would joyfully help to elect him, of course.

A typographical error appeared in the article by Miss Lucy Price in the November PROTEST: "the road for *men* and other women" should read "the road for *me* and other women."

To the Editor of the *Boston Herald*:

In view of the persistent efforts of the Suffragists to mislead the voters into the belief that there is some sort of alliance between the liquor organizations and the Woman's Anti-Suffrage Association, it is interesting to recall that the law passed in 1902 limiting the number of licenses in Boston to a maximum of 1000 was introduced in the Legislature by the late Charles R. Saunders, counsel for the Women's Anti-Suffrage Association, at the request of the executive committee of that organization.

This law was secured by anti-suffrage women without the ballot. As a result of it, Boston has only about 700 saloons, while the city of San Francisco, where women have voted since 1911, has 3500 saloons, although it has a population only two-thirds that of Boston.

Brookline, Oct. 4. MRS. A. J. GEORGE

It was proposed at the Suffrage Convention held in New York recently that Anti-Suffragists in the future be given the "West Point Silence." Four names were mentioned, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, the National and State Anti-Suffrage Presidents; Miss Lucy Price and Miss Marjorie Dorman. The arguments opposing suffrage as presented by those women were to be ignored by the Suffragists as not worthy of rejoinder. No definite action was taken.

## THE RIGHT KIND OF "VOTES FOR WOMEN."

The right kind of "votes for women" are votes cast by men to keep women out of the hurly-burly of politics and to prevent encroachment upon the time and strength which women are now giving most profitably to their natural work. Men owe it to themselves and to women also to perform the function of voting which requires both preparation and attention. To break down the rational lines between male and female service for society is to introduce confusion, which will complicate without clearing public affairs. Votes for women are votes by men cast in compliance with the desire of the large majority of women, who do not wish to be lugged against their will into the forum of political debate and into the arena of election-campaign competition.—*Troy Times*, November 1.

(Special to *The New York Times*)

CHICAGO, Nov. 30.—The finances of this city are in such woeful shape, according to a statement made to-day by Controller Pike, that unless the Legislature now in special session comes to the rescue it will be necessary at the end of the current month to lay off not less than 1,000 municipal employees, while many others must suffer a material reduction in salaries.

The city, according to Mr. Pike, is "broke," and must be run next year at a saving of \$3,000,000 in order to keep within its revenues.

"We are making up the budget now on the basis of a big economy next year," said Controller Pike. "Supreme Court decisions have effected our revenues, the Legislature, without providing extra revenues, has added new duties for the city to perform at its own expense, and now we must face the music."

Possibly the Controller refers to the adding of hundreds of thousands of women to the electorate, an imposition made by the legislature at the request of four suffrage leaders and against the popular will of the people.

(Scranton *Republican*)

PITTSBURGH, PA., Nov. 11.—Criticism of the action of the delegates in endorsing woman suffrage at an earlier session marked the close of the thirty-first annual meeting of the Unitarian conference of the Middle States and Canada late here to-day.

Rev. C. Seymour Bullock, of Ottawa, declared that the suffrage question was not a moral question and should not have been taken up in the councils of the church.

The tendency of the day to adopt children is explained by Mrs. Pedersen, the daughter of William H. Foster, of Norfolk, Va., in a recent despatch printed by the *New York Journal*.

"Women have been trying so hard to get out of the home," Mrs. Pedersen said. "Now the pendulum is swinging the other way. We are realizing that after all what we want is to be the mothers of children, and those of us who can't are finding this way. I only wish that more women who think they have nothing to live for would follow our example."

"I have tried suffrage. I have tried all the various things every restless woman tries as her makeshifts for happiness. But I am forced to acknowledge, since I have my girls, that all the uplift work in the world is dry as dust compared to home life. One real nursery beats a dozen woman's clubs."

(From the *New York Times*)

A "MONSTER petition," apparently somewhat larger than the Capitol, begging Congress to adopt the constitutional amendment for woman suffrage, is to be trundled to Washington. "Ten Governors" are said to have signed. Signing petitions is an automatic act with a good many Americans. Governor Walsh, of Massachusetts, a Suffragist, refuses to sign. As a sound Democrat he does not believe that woman suffrage is a Federal matter, or that it should be imposed upon unwilling States. Let each State invite the women to the polls or keep them away from the polls, as it prefers. Besides, if a constitutional amendment were desirable its passage by a two-thirds vote of Congress and a three-fourths vote of the States is impossible.

In spite of the large majority against suffrage in New York State, both the Governor and the Mayor of New York have signed the suffrage petition referred to in the above editorial. This petition originated in suffrage States.

Is it according to democratic principles for prominent officials to lend aid to a movement which the State has declared against overwhelmingly at the polls?

It is not. Therefore the moving spirit actuating these men must be looked for elsewhere. Perhaps it will be found in the fact that the wives of both these officials are Suffragists.

This is indeed direct evidence of that "indirect influence of women" at which Suffragists so persistently scoff.



### THE NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

FOUNDED 1895

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Should We Ask for the Suffrage? *Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer*  
Woman's Relation to Government *Mrs. Wm. F. Scott*  
The Blank Cartridge Ballot *Rossiter Johnson*  
Address (Made before Constitutional Convention, 1894)

Taxation and Suffrage *Hon. Elihu Root*  
Woman and the Law *Frederick Dwight*  
First Legislative Address *Francis M. Scott*  
The Woman Suffrage Crisis *Mrs. Francis M. Scott*  
(Editorial, *New York Times*, February, 8, 1915)

Suffragists Desert Philanthropy, etc.  
Woman Suffrage and the Equal Guardianship Law  
Dodgers

#### NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Woman Suffrage Opposed to Woman's Rights *Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge*  
The Case Against Votes for Women *Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge*  
The Militant and the Child *Mrs. F. M. Scott*  
Woman's Rights vs. Woman's Suffrage *Mrs. A. J. George*  
Equality of Suffrage Means the Debasement, etc. *John R. Das Passos*

Woman Suffrage and Child Labor Legislation *Minnie Bronson*  
Wage-Earning Woman and the State *Minnie Bronson*  
The Relation of the Sexes to Government *Prof. Edward Cope*  
A Talk to Women on the Suffrage Question *Miss Emily P. Bissell*

Should Women Vote? *Joseph Gilpin Pyle*  
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#### NEW YORK STATE MEN'S ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO POLITICAL SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN

27 William Street Room 1903 New York City

Brief before Rules Committee, Washington, D. C., Dec. 4, 1913  
*Everett P. Wheeler*

Questionnaire *Everett P. Wheeler*  
Women and The Vote

Feminist Principle Biologically Unsound *Prof. William T. Sedgwick*

#### The Woman and the Vote

(Address Carnegie Hall, January 26, 1914) *Everett P. Wheeler*  
Feminist Revolutionary Principle Biologically Unsound

Brief Submitted to House of Representatives, July, 1914  
*Prof. William T. Sedgwick*

Colorado and Suffrage *Everett P. Wheeler*  
Consent of the Governed *John C. Ten Eyck*

Brief on Woman Suffrage; Political Suffrage for Women Subversive of American Ideals  
*Prof. Munroe Smith*

The Laws of New York Favor and Protect Woman  
*Raymond B. Seymour, of the New York Bar*

What Women Have Done Without the Ballot  
*Raymond B. Seymour, of the New York Bar*

(Republished by Permission from *The Reply*)  
*Everett P. Wheeler*

Suffrage Map of the United States.

#### BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING

Woman Adrift (\$1.50) *Harold Owen*  
The Nature of Woman (\$1.25) *J. Lionel Tayler*

Vocation of Woman (\$1.50) *Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun*  
The Business of Being a Woman (\$1.50) *Ida Tarbell*

The Unexpurgated Case Against Woman Suffrage (\$1.00)  
*Sir Almoth Wright*

The Ladies' Battle (\$1.00) *Molly Elliott Seawell*  
Book of Woman's Power (\$1.25)

The Unrest of Women (\$1.00) *E. S. Martin*  
Votes for Men (50c.)

Anti-Suffrage: Ten Good Reasons (50c.) *Grace Duffield Goodwin*  
Woman and the Republic (25c.) *Mrs. Rossiter Johnson*

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*The Remonstrance*.....Subscription, 25c.  
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Of What Benefit to Woman?  
Why I Am Opposed to Woman Suffrage *Jeannette L. Gilder*

Letter to Legislative Committee *Mrs. Clara T. Leonard*  
Municipal Suffrage for Women—Why? *Frank Foxcroft*

Taxpaying Suffrage *Charles R. Saunders*  
Rights and Exemptions Given by Massachusetts Law to Women and not to Men

Opinions of Eminent Persons Against Woman Suffrage  
Woman's Power and Woman Suffrage *Ida M. Tarbell*

Woman Suffrage in Practice—An Answer to George Creel  
Address in Opposition to Woman Suffrage

*Mrs. George A. Caswell*  
Anti-Suffrage Manual (15c. a copy) *Mrs. Albert T. Leatherbee*

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